[P. 156] Tachi

226 278 Fish poison (yao'ha) was made from a white flower which was pulverized and thrown over quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t:'l:l, was mentioned by M.G.

223 Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

> Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.
>
> They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.
>
> Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

● 222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were [252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so'pas:n sa'sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu'muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

[418] Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
262 from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɨt tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´syɨn, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
278 were many others which must have been well
757 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
[177] translated as cough medicine) was cooked and the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´hɨn ṭuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɨn tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɨn). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

[P. 569] Wukchumni / Western Mono NS25

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another 131 village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y [223 To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat- wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare 439] wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y [222] The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a short- age in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels 437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was east- ward, of commodities westward.

Y M 177 Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant [191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat- [105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other in- formants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and cultural- ly richer Yokuts neighbors and that they dis- appeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

Y 439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ʻi by the 448 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (waʻtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

756 Watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Gar-
field sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

621 Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
call only three families. The chief there was
512 Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with an-
other woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet an-
other woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. An-
other chief, Ke´wač (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who pre-
viously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establish-
ments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close to-
gether." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
● 222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
423 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
have special places to hunt food, anyone went
with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds
[text continues on p. 59a]

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her [224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and [281] rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Waksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye''itąo: Gawia central village
2. sokoda'o: Gawia campsite
3. čed:pwi'ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida'pw:š
4. poanai'yu: Gawia campsite
5. had:ta'o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai''yuhao
8. čaše'ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau'ču
10. topo'ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa'o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo'kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču'm: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya'gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo'ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi'yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono': a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu'mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño'našu
21. čoiši'šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi'šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa'o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu'nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

[P. 8 b]

252 Deer meat was [illegible]ut into hunks with
262 an obsidian blade and [illegible]ed in a clay pot with
[263] salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
[412] of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

267 Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
136 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Woodlake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pːs); minnows [?] (ta´kːč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tːč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wːs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

252 Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
262 strips from an initial cut down the backbone. The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

322 Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
[262] favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[1] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

[263 192] [1] The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and
252 put in a basket to boil. They were later
260 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pɨn) or
222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihɨt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´´utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´´išŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mɨtaki´ša (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like paraley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hɨč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[169] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tɨk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´šta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171]

[169] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going
252 out to clover patches in the spring and there
262 directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Nauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida ´ma ṭo ´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide ´d:k, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned kat:k and čided:k. Another plant, mane ´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai ´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

[177] Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša ´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka ´sy:n, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka ´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

222 A ´ṭu (manzanita berries) were used only
262 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a [222] beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but
285 lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na)
415 was invariably of twined weave, coarse and close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´n:ts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´'iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´w:c) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats
175 the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.---There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[574] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´m:s), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

222 Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
262 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

252 Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
272 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´t:l) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´n:t was pounded up and added sometimes [čan:t not identified].

411 Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

227 For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), we:sča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´p:č (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi, everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his father. The government wanted to make schools. Each morning two white men and [native] interpreters told them what was going to take place. Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings River to see the Indians there, but he got killed. The Indians called him Ca'wis. The government sent no money at this time. But this was the beginning of all bad things -- sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[92] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.
462

● 222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

726 Now some Monachi (Eastern Mono) had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
252 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n.l) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[46] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river (San Joaquin), leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[624] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
● 222 that people from several tribes might be camped

[46] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

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together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɨs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (ǰil·´aki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɨn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.N. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[88] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

Few sites or localities could be named by E.N.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu´i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

ǰu´mhun: a village at the junction of Pine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

ǰamwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][89]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´´an in general

aco´po: unlocated

kumku´mɨč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai´ai´·ɨč: got liquor

koko´hɨp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

Dwellings.---The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´´ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[88] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[89] Although E.N. calls the village ǰamwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 222 616 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all the acorns, which were gathered and stored, as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 616 796 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the western horizon at dusk it was time to watch for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 668 [778] which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there

103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain

131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River

kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)

nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 131 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come [152 186 straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 222 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

164 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they always feared the approach of bears. 222

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about [484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and [438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the 242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the 351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their 184 houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 179 9] Chuckchansi

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." (Never, or only when this first of [264] the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.) They ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of
512 the men had been hunting and had brought home
224 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now.
[252] Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the meat, the men would cook it.[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

251 When acorns were plentiful a family could
● [223] get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[87] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes and distribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken.

[855]

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

252 Seeds.---Seeds were parched on circular trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley.

[285 415]

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

[263]

222 Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

252

252

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse.

[251]

[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[i.e., job's tears meal dough. -Analyst]

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252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type [222 was got up in the mountains when they went up for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were 222] ready about August, and whole families went up there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 48] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the [137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [224 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray
262 squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog.
[184] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N329 Yokuts N529
[P. 181 a] Chuckchansi

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

● 222 Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected. [262] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked [252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some [251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

222 Grubs of a small black butterfly[92] were
252 also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little hot water; they were not cooked long. These [251] were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the [439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid
263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the
435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be
439 slightly larger than the lump of salt for which it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

263 The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

263 According to N.W., rock salt was got from
439 the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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[92] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. (Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529 .

263 439 263 435 [804] to three-quarters of an inch in diameter, carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity of salt about as large as a pine cone would be worth 50 cents in American money, in native terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

258 263 The salt called 'alit' was derived from salt grass which is covered with a white incrustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

277 [423] 222 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe, women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe, the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

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scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and all, she put them in a basket.[35] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regular mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild. The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

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[35] The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1879] Chuckchansi

these were built with the doors facing each other.

The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

Storehouses and granaries.---A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with many children would be tided over lean periods by their neighbors, should their food become exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

[102]Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

251
222
224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was
261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was
731 actually all gone, people warmed water and drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns
[784] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty
343 sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the
[417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did
[462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of
251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

[P. 189 b] Chuckchansi

412 in diameter, said N.W. (3 to 4 ft., 1 in., said J.R.). The wood, yellow and hard, was
[824] from a long straight limb of a tree growing more abundantly at North Fork than at Coarse Gold. (It was mountain mahogany, grew around Coarse Gold but not at higher altitudes, said J.R.) The limbs were straight, grew close to the ground. The point seldom became dull. The stick was operated with a paddling motion, the digger bending over; "sometimes one stood up but that was too tiring" (N.W.). All types of digging were accomplished with this instrument: for all root materials, postholes, graves.

[824 Long poles for shaking down acorns were
● 222] made of "peppermint wood." They were crooked at the end by heating and bending while pliable, said N.W.

Soaproot brushes were used for all brush
412 requirements: hair brushes, sweeping up acorn
322 meal at mortar holes, washing and scrubbing baskets, sweeping the house floor, etc. They were made in several sizes, from one foot wide down to little ones of one or two inches. About midsummer, July, women went out with digging sticks and obtained sackfuls of the soaproot plants. These were made up into brushes at once as they do not need to be dried. First the fibrous exterior was removed; then the bulbous interior was put on a bed of coals, buried, and left to roast at least half a day. When removed, the bulb is "like potatoes"; the skin will rub off. Actually the bulb is layered, onionlike, and the inside of each layer contains a soapy substance. Layer by layer the material was scraped off with the teeth (today a knife is used) and chewed. It turned white; it was then deposited in a basket to be used later as the platic handle of the brush.

The fibrous exterior was then taken. The bottom, coarser ends, which served as bristles, were pinched together firmly and bound between two sticks.[109] The upper end, which became the interior of the handle, was twisted tight, squeezed, and bound up. Two or three layers of root fibre were needed for an average-sized brush. All were bound firmly together, through and through. The binding cord was not specified; presumably it was milkweed string. Finally, the handle was wrapped round and round. Then the soapy plastic was smeared on; its gluey quality allowed it to be perfectly smoothed. The two sticks on the bristle end were still in place and by these the brush was hung up to dry, either in the sun or in the house. One week was needed for the complete hardening process.

Sometimes brushes were made from fibres or uncooked roots which were used for washing purposes; they have light-colored bristles. The bristles are said to turn dark in cooking. [But, above, they were also said to have been removed before cooking; an irreconcilable state-

[109] Barrett and Gifford illustrate soaproot brushes at this and other stages of manufacture (ibid., pl. XXXVI).

W Y 222 262 Yucca.---The yucca plants (o·'pa°dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po'dos) the tall blossom buds (o'b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. [252] As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

W Y [462] 251

Piñon nuts.---Pine nuts (pone'diw°, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

Y W [481]

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

W Y 262 252

[439] Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te'°wa. They were superior to the local variety.

W Y 222 262 [462] [251] Acorns.---Pine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

W Y 262 252

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again. 344

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic. 262

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains inhabited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions. 137 222 262

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot summer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 222 262 132

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

132 ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost
222 exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various
262 natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

262 But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over
221 were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

262 Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

222 The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leach-
262 ing has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the
[252] use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 104 not Processed]

CHAPTER VI

FOODSTUFFS

GATHERING AND STORING ACORNS

262 222 The acorn, which the Wukchumne Yokuts called *poo'-tus*, was the staple article of diet for most California Indians. It was stored, prepared, and eaten in large quantities and was the most common food consumed by them.

Indians living near the foothills preferred the mountain (Kellogg) acorns to those grown in the valley. The foothill scrub-oaks are smaller, and produce a smaller acorn, which contains a great deal of bitter tannin. The valley oaks bear a large acorn, often three inches in length and almost one inch in diameter. It is sweet, but according to the Indians, does not contain the nourishment found in those borne by the mountain oaks.

The process of gathering and preparing acorns entailed an immense amount of labor. The trees bearing the crop were often several miles distant from the rancheria. An Indian family would consume from one to two thousand pounds of [482] acorns a year. They were carried to the rancheria on the backs of the *mokes* (mo'-kees, women.) The harvesting took place [462] when the acorn crop had nearly all fallen from the tree. At this time, during the years of a good crop, the ground under the trees was almost completely covered with acorns.

[285] The Indian women used a flat-bottomed basket in gathering acorns. Stooping over, they slipped the basket along the ground and rapidly tossed the acorns into it. When the basket was full, it was taken to a burden basket and emptied. The burden basket was called *ahng'-ush* and was made of light, twined material in the shape of an inverted cone, being about twenty-four inches across the large, upper end and from two to three feet in height. The pointed end of this basket was often thrust into a squirrel hole to hold it upright while the acorns were being emptied into it, or the basket was leaned against a rock, or the trunk of a tree.

[482] When the ahngush was filled with acorns it was placed upon the back of one of the mokes. On top of the load she

[Text continues on p. 107]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds.

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te*. A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots*. In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts*. Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h*, and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we*. The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead.

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellent. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Acorn soup was dipped from the basket with the first three fingers and placed in the mouth. Both it and the cake were very nourishing, being rich in oil and starch. A small piece the size of a base-ball is said to contain food value equal to more than an entire loaf of our bread.

To the uninitiated, acorn bread is a tremendous disappointment. To me it tasts flat and chalky, but white persons who persist are said to learn to like it.

SALT FROM SALT GRASS

There being no natural deposit of mineral salt accessible to the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, the obtaining of this important article of diet was a serious problem. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley it is quite likely that a portion of the salt used was mineral salt obtained from mountain Indians who had in turn obtained it by trade from the inhabitants of the desert region east of the Sierra, where natural deposits of this mineral were common. We are assured by old Indians that salt obtained in this way was very expensive. Many beads of shell or steatite were demanded for a few handfuls of the crude salt offered.

A large portion of the salt used by the Yokuts tribes in the San Joaquin Valley is still obtained from salt grass. Although the method of obtaining this salt has been observed by white settlers since as long ago as 1850, it is remarkable that there have been available through libraries and newspaper files no detailed accounts of the method of harvesting and refining it.

All salt grass does not bear enough salt to make it useful as a source of that material. Most persons who have walked through some fields of salt grass in the early morning have found it covered with what appeared to be heavy dew, have later had the experience of finding their shoes covered with a heavy incrustation. This is the salt used by the Yokuts.

The salt is exuded from the leaves of the salt grass and adheres to them in small globules smaller than a mustard seed. In the early morning this excretion exists as a small drop of liquid. By noon of a warm day it has become solid and by midafternoon is dry and hard and can be removed from the leaves of the grass by threshing.

As the grass itself is not desirable, the problem exists of removing the salt without breaking up the brittle leaves and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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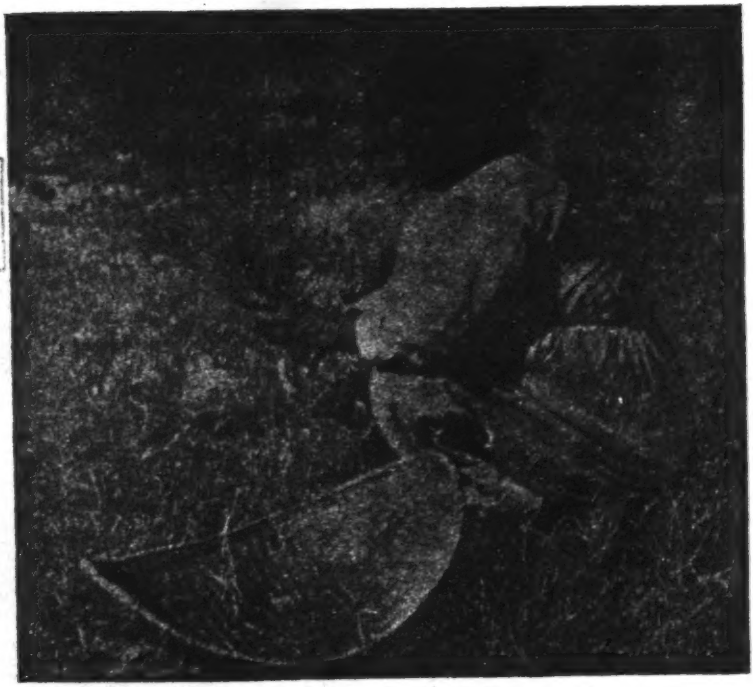

Wahnomkot, full-blood Wukchumne Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is tah'-meuk, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

222 263

moist to be brushed from the leaves. So the Yokuts harvest crew enters the field. The workers kneel and break the grass off close to the ground, placing it in shallow wicker baskets. They then very carefully stack it with the stems resting on the ground and the leaves upward. This whole process must be very carefully executed, otherwise the salt will be dislodged from the leaves and wasted upon the ground.

By two o'clock in the afternoon the salt globules are very dry and easily dislodged, so the pulling of the grass is discontinued and the Indians begin threshing. During the preceding four or five hours, while the grass has been stacked with the leaves uppermost, the salt has completely dried and hardened, but the leaves of the grass are still tough, although somewhat wilted.

It is important that the threshing or flailing of the grass be done at this precise stage, because if delayed longer the grass itself becomes brittle and is pulverizd and mixed with the salt. If threshed too soon the salt is not dry and is not easily removed from the leaves of the grass. It is because the grass is stacked with the stems down and the salt exposed to the sun that the salt dries faster than the grass itself, which remains tough for the threshing.

Small quantities of the salt grass are now thrown upon a deer or elk skin, which is spread upon the ground. Three or four Indians seat themselves about this pile of grass and begin flailing it lightly, using small willow poles from which the bark has been stripped. Care is taken not to pound the grass heavily, but merely to tap it so that the salt is dislodged from the leaves and sifts through the grass to the deer skin below.

When it is seen that the salt has all been removed, the grass is gathered loosely in the hands, is shaken thoroughly, and discarded. This process is repeated until a layer of salt approximately one inch in thickness is deposited upon the deer skin. This salt is then placed in a basket and the process repeated, until several hundred pounds have been obtained. The Indians move very slowly, but methodically and a family of four Indians will gather during the harvest season approximately six fifty pound flour sacks full of this crude material. By sifting and winnowing, after the crude material has been taken to the rancheria, approximately four fifty pound flour sacks full of salt will be obtained. The Wukchumne Yokuts call this salt *ah'-dit*. Other Yokuts tribes call it *ahlit* or *ahlet*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The search for large cottonwood trees, from which to make ox-cart wheels, revealed several trees approximately four feet in diameter and of great height. Surrounding these large trees were great areas of wild blackberries and wild grapevines. Some of the grapevine trunks were six inches in diameter. They reached to the very tops of the tallest trees and then hung to the ground. 137

By the latter part of September and the middle of October, the grapevines were loaded with grapes which were gathered by many nearby white and Indian residents for use in making jelly. Some areas, an acre or more in extent, were piled twenty feet or more in height with wild blackberry vines. During June, these had born a tremendous crop of berries. These were about the size of the Himalaya variety of tame blackberry and tasted much like it. In addition to the cottonwood and other trees mentioned, a variety of ash was quite common. There had also started a rather thick growth of young oaks. [227]

It would take several hours to catalog and describe the many varieties of grasses and water plants that in 1931 were growing in the tangled jungle along the banks of the main Kaweah River and its sloughs. Two or three varieties of these grasses are used by the local Indians in basket making, many of them growing to a height of eight feet or more and so thick that passage through them was made with difficulty. Great patches of nettles covered some portions. At other places wild hemp was quite thick.

Over the burned area a young growth of blackberry and grapevines gave evidence that the next year would see several more acres covered to a great height with these plants. During the succeeding fall, (1931), this last jungle area was again burned over and, with the shortage of water and the confining of what remained to the artificial channels, such growth will probably never return to this area.

The descriptions of some pioneers are easily believed by one who saw this last remnant of river jungle, which was soon gone. I have been assured by these early settlers that in some areas the oak growth was so thick that a team and wagon could not be driven between the trees, and that the branches overhead formed a closed canopy which shut out the sun entirely and offered refuge for countless numbers of birds and animals of all varieties.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 137 222 Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that blackberry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly [231] bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 222 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

262 222 415 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket [482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 222 [412] In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pulling the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached. The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

manner as are baskets of acorns. During the season of 1931 I saw one *moke* (mo'-ke, Indian Woman) carrying approximately one hundred pounds of blackberries which she had picked during a short afternoon.

When the rancheria was reached, formerly the berries were placed upon a tanned deer-skin and allowed to dry. Today they are placed on a canvas. During the first several days that they are subject to the sun they are turned several times, so that the drying is equal on all sides. If the berries are stored in this state they will mold, so an additional treatment is necessary.

When the berries are completely dried, they are placed in a basket and taken to the mortars. There they are pounded into a coarse meal. This meal is then mixed with water and kneaded into a thick paste. The Wukchumne mash them into a paste before they are completely dry. This paste is patted into cakes and again put out to dry. Very little water is used in this process. The cakes will dry through in one afternoon. They are then gathered up and stored away in baskets inside the house.

It should be appreciated that this is really a clever way of handling blackberries. Had the uncured berries been mashed and made into cakes, they would have fermented before the cakes were thoroughly dry, but drying them in the natural state, and then pulverizing them, and adding only enough water to form them into cakes prevented fermentation.

The dried cakes required final preparation before they entered the jam state. They were again pounded in a mortar and the resulting coarse meal placed in a basket. Water was added and the whole cooked with hot rocks. The result was a blackberry jam which did not differ greatly from jam made by white persons.

The writer has noticed that the local Indians, in making jam, skim from the top of the basket the most of the seeds, which being lighter than the jam, collect there very soon after the cooking begins. Whether such refined practice was common in the old days is problematical. At any rate, the smearing of juvenile faces with blackberry jam did not originate in this territory with the coming of the first white youngsters.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 415 leaves from many food stuffs. The Wukchumne call this sieve *tah'-meuk*. The tahmeuk is also used to drain many foodstuffs in much the same way that the modern colander is used. I have seen Yokuts women washing mustard greens and fungus growths in the tahmeuk. The common shape of this interesting utensil is elliptical. It varies greatly in size. Some are as long as two feet and some less than eighteen inches. They are from ten to sixteen inches across the middle and from four to six inches in depth.

285 When ready for use the cottonwood shoots used are about one eighth inch in diameter. They are spaced from one sixteenth to one eighth of an inch apart. Near the ends of the tahmeuk the shoots are drawn closely together. About the edge of the whole is lashed a rim composed of a cottonwood wythe about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The ends are moistened and then pounded with a stone. They are doubled under the rim and lashed in place with *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

The small shoots are twined together with hupud at intervals of about one inch. This construction produces an extremely light, but durable utensil. The tahmeuk is still used extensively among the remaining Yokuts.

285 412 A seed beater which greatly resembles the tahmeuk is also widely used. It differs most in that it is fitted with a handle at one end. The handle is formed by lashing together the projecting cottonwood shoots, instead of bending them under, as is done in making the tahmeuk. This utensil is called *yah-mah'-he tah'-meuk*. It is used to beat the seeds of dry grasses and shrubs into a basket. In this way one *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, can gather several hundred pounds of seeds in a day.

285 At least two types of baskets are made by twining, instead of stitching. The most interesting of these is a practical receptacle for use in gathering blackberries. This basket is pear shaped, about five inches across the mouth, six inches across the largest portion near the bottom and eight to nine inches in depth. It is fitted with a buckskin handle which is long enough to pass over the head, allowing the basket to be suspended from the neck and to hang slightly above the waist.

[222 48] This arrangement leaves both hands free for gathering blackberries and speeds up the work considerably. The Indian woman can crawl through the blackberry vines, draw them

[text continues on p. 160]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries
[222 into the basket.
481]

They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 During the season when the baskets are not in use for
415 gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally
[353] hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

[227] In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much
[482] like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

disappeared and all was quiet. There was nothing in sight. Everyone was gone and the husband sat alone.

Tihpiknits had given the husband a small basket of *toiuk* seed mush. As fast as he ate the mush it grew larger. So he was never out of it. The toiuk seed is the seed of the wild rice. It has a stem like wild oats and the head hangs over when the seed is ripe. It is covered with stickers which will cut your hands and make them bleed. When the Indian women gather toiuk seed they cover their hands and arms with mud. It is the best seed we have. When it is ground and mixed with water it rises like bread. That is why it did not get any smaller when they ate it.

For three days and nights the husband sat alone. On the third evening, while the Winatuns were building the fires, Tihpiknits told the husband that he had decided what to do about him. He was to go to his wife's house and stay that night. If he kept awake all night she could go back with him.

If the husband went to sleep he was to go home alone and hide for six days and nights. He was to tell no one where he had been, or of anything he had seen until the sixth night. Then he was to come out and give a big dance and tell everything. If he told before, Tihpiknits' watchman, the rattlesnake, would know it and he would die right then and there.

Tihpiknits asked the husband what he wanted to eat before he went to his wife's house and he answered, "*Sun-sun*, the mud-hen." So Tihpiknits gave him a fat one, but told him that it would make him sleep. By this time the husband was almost overcome from lack of sleep, but he ate the mud hen anyway.

After eating, the husband went to his wife's house. Soon she returned from the Lonewis dance. She talked with him for a long time and kept telling him over and over, "Don't you go to sleep. You must stay awake, or I cannot go back with you."

The husband kept awake until almost daylight, when he could not keep his eyes open any longer. His wife did all she could to keep him awake, but he went to sleep anyway.

In the morning the husband awakened to find his wife gone and a log of rotten wood in the house. Tihpiknits told the husband to go home and do as he had been told. When he died he was to come again and join his wife. But the wife could never return to this world again.

Tihpiknits gave the husband a fresh basket of toiuk seed mush and started him toward home. He crossed the big water

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke'-em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutununtu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Guistos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (*i, en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground, picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

After telling about the successful display of power by the weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have